The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

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Abstract:
The present article examines the role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi. The main question of this article is that what was the role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi? In response to this hypothesis political parties, especially in the fifth parliament, have played a major role in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi. The parliament played an unparalleled role in the reform process of Reza Khan. The parliament was the site of the day of the country, and were legal activities of the political and intellectual currents. The relations and interactions of these forces, in particular, formed political parties and political organizations that were first reflected in the parliament and eventually reflected outside it, directly or indirectly, on the fate of Reza Khan as the main actor in the political scene of Iran. Reza Khan also stepped up the steps in setting up relations with political factions and influencing their behavior and performance. Obviously, the parliament and political factions within it enjoyed a dominant and dominant role in this cycle. It can be said that the reign of Reza Khan did not come solely through violence, military force, assassinations and military conspiracies, but it was made through an open coalition with various groups inside and outside the fourth and fifth congresses. These forces were: The conservative reformist party, the reformist reformist party, the radical socialist party and the revolutionaries of the communist sect. The fifth parliament, which opened in 1303, was the second pillar of Reza Khan's reach. The type of research methodology will be descriptive-analytic.

key words:Political parties, Qajar, Pahlavi, Reza Khan
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Concepts and the nature of the party

The party can be defined as a human group with a single ideology. However, in the religious literature, the word "party" has been used in the same sense for both the Proust and Satan. But from another perspective, the Party can be seen as a kind of political settlement, that is a new phenomenon in today's democratic societies. In societies in which the basic rights and freedoms of the nation have been accepted as the underlying principal, the most logical and coherent way is to engage people in their own destinies through the formation of political parties and factions. It must be said that new political parties and factions are different from that of the party in the Qur'anic discourse. There, the party is a complete intellectual movement, but in the new society, there may be several parties that do not belong to a general political or economic ideology. (Ghasemi, 1391: 78).

The political party is a set of human beings that gather together with the common purpose and purpose of acting in the political arena for power, and form an organization based on the rules and statutes. The existence of the organization, the leadership, the founding board, the constitution, branches in various cities, are attempt to obtain power through political competition from the conditions and characteristics of a political party. (Shabani Sarouei, 1387: 15-14).

The specialized term "party" in the modern sense should not be confused with its lexical meaning (group). The political party is tied to the "gear of the machine of democracy" with the concept of individuality, civil rights, democracy, and the primacy of the right. According to Maurice Doverge: "The similarity of words should not be mistaken. In ancient systems, they called the parties that divided the republics into a party. In the Italian Renaissance, the groups that gathered around people were called the party. They told the party that the clubs were the seat of the assembly of the MPs revolutionary. Against these groups, other groups of large organizations representing public opinion in modern democracies are also called parties. "(Haghighat, 1394: 162).

The conditions for the formation of political parties

Political parties arise under certain social conditions. Naturally, civil society has to be developed and complicated so that the emergence of parties as representatives of various interests and
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14. No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

interests comes. In addition, significant sections of the population have to get participation in political life in terms of cultural, social and economic. In the traditional societies in which political power was in the hands of a small oligarchy, the emergence of the party was not possible in the new sense. A political party based on ideology, organization, leadership, and concrete programs is a new phenomenon (Bashirieh, 2006: 122).

For political parties, there are five distinct principles of formation:

1. Human nature. The tendency to form political parties is related to human nature. Some people are individually conservative, but others are progressive. Because of this, people are drawn to this or that party due to the differences and mood of temperament.

2. Opposing economic conflicts. This principle is the true foundation of political parties. In the current, situation the party representing the interests of various classes may be represent villagers, landowners, workers or financiers.

3. The environmental factor. The environment also forces people to seek membership in that or that party. They have rightly said that people generally inherit politics and religion.

4. Rationality. The racial sense still has a detrimental effect on party politics.

5. Religious and religious background. These bases may be the basis for the formation of political parties in democracy, or in the process of collapse. In Western countries, political parties are not formed more or less on religious or religious grounds. Such parties in the multi-religious countries take the root of democracy and destroy national unity (Alam, 1999: 348-347).

**Infrastructure components of parties**

If we want to describe the theoretical and practical basis of party and faction formation in new societies, we can mention the following:

A) Adopt the principle of plurality or diversity and a variety of political, economic, and cultural thoughts

B) Accepting the theoretical and practical principle of tolerance

C) Adopt the principle of compatibility or cooperation and interaction between different and even conflicting thoughts

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The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

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D) the acceptance of the principle of the relative validity of the right and wrong in the realm of man and the avoidance of absolutism and absolute.

The reason for the presence of political parties and political factions in the new style is:

- The rule of the populist and libertarian systems

- The popularity of popular electoral systems (parliament, presidency, councils, etc.) requires the masses of people to manage and preside over, and they are interested in being effective, friendly, and choosing their boss and co-workers.

- The lack of the technical and practical feasibility of the rule of all people on their own and the choice of some of the elements chosen to be chosen (Badamchian, 2010: 63).

Follow the rules of the political games in the West and its mismatch in political games made it difficult for Iranians to adapt to the functions of Western parties. While Iranians have "character-centered", "monopolistic", "active", "profitable", and "opportunistic" and this is the motive for their membership in the parties; this is due to the dominance of the kingdoms and monarchies throughout the long years of the country. Therefore, the autocratic habit of the kings made Iranians lack the spirit of cooperation and political action to form a party. In any case, the root cause of the ineffectiveness of Iranian parties can be considered as the rule of despotism (Rahvar Monfared, 2003: 20).

Every society in order to be able to organize its own state and move to achieve its goals and aspirations, It is imperative to set the framework for rules and regulations. In the meantime, political groups, social groups, organizations and parties, if they have recognized the law, and if they know the law governing their actions, plans and behavior, will largely prevent divergent movements. One of the main causes of political tensions in the process of competition is the lack of compliance of the elites and party leaders with the law. However, the plurality of protocols has high political capabilities to achieve development. But the diversity of ethnic and political groups and the expansion of the area of competition between them is considered a serious threat to the country's compassion. Especially when the competition goes beyond the framework of the principles and calls for the principle of religious rule to be fought (Mirmohammadi, 2000: 243).

In general, in every society, there are different institutions to link between people and political

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Revista Publicando, 5 No 14. No. 2. 2018, 581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

power which parties and political currents are among the most common. In fact, the part of the political conflict and most political games are made by political currents. Moreover, parties and political currents are considered as intermediate and intermediate rings between the rulers and the community of society.

A tangible relationship between political factions and there is a strong relationship with social stability and political stability. So that the intermittent, systematic, regular, and legitimate exchange of power on the part of political parties can lead to stability and national security, on the other hand, the polarization of the demands of political currents will lead to instability and compromise of national security (Karimi, 1391: 87).

General features of political parties in Iran

About a century passed since the advent of the first political groups and political parties in Iran. In the constitutional period, parties, pseudo-parties and small political groups were formed that had poor interactions with the people and the various classes of society; In contrast, traditional associations were still closer to the people and people were more welcoming. Because, on the one hand, these associations were more consistent with the people's social and cultural traditions and beliefs, and, on the other hand, differences of opinion among the parties caused the pessimism of the people. (Fazeli and others, 1388: 139). With a review of the history of the emergence, activity and decline of political parties at various times of this century, the following issues attract attention:

1. During this century, there have been frequent periods of presence (emergence and liberation) and absence (decline and limitation) of political parties and political groups. The attention to these points and the precision at their turning points shows a rule that there has always been an inverse relationship between the authority and consolidation of the state, with the freedom and activity of political parties.

2. In the periods of freedom of parties and political groups, what attracts our attention is the emergence of a large number of sometimes very few political parties and political groups, with the exception of a few of them, the rest of the world, except for congregations. They have not been very durable.
3. All of these parties and groups had their origin and base, and their main base was formed by the narrow circle of intellectuals and educated capitals and several other big cities.

4. The overwhelming majority of these parties and groups lacked internal coherence and integrity, and repeated breaks have been their characteristics; So that many of the parties and groups found at any given time could be found to be the product of these branches and splits.

5. The relationship between parties and political groups was largely hostile and knock-out. On the one hand, the government and ruling groups with the existing parties, even with the idea of overthrow, had an inconsistency and hostility; on the other hand, political parties and political groups also devoted much of their efforts to confronting hostile confrontation with the government and ruling groups. (Delavari, 1375: 217-216).

**The motivations of partyism during the Qajar era**

1- The oppression of oppression and public poverty, along with the extensive bureaucracy, led some people to take part in these associations in order to improve the status quo or eventually overthrow the government.

2. The corruption of the state system and the playground for satisfaction of personal interests, bribery, party play and grouping, and ... the result of anarchy and autocracy, has caused a number of statesmen and princes to form or participate in these associations. Make a reptile campaign against their opponents and for personal interests with popular and reformist slogans.

3. Foreign powers also had a significant influence on the creation or influence of political and secret societies in order to drive their rivals or to gain access to sensitive centers of power or change in the situation; for example, England, through a number of old students New schools (including Dar Al Fonoun) traveled to study abroad, and the opposition princes, as well as a few other influential classes in the Freemasonry Layers (which, in turn, are political associations), sought to impose their policies and often Those were the leaders of the future constitution. (Tahaei, 1371: 92-91).

**The political-social atmosphere of Iran from the Qajar period to 1304**
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

During the Qajar period, when government dependence and vulnerability increased and lawlessness and insecurity were commonplace in social, economic and political life, there was no mechanism for controlling the arbitrary behavior of the king and his subordinates. Using the experiences of past centuries of Iran, the sultans had come to rule that they should rule with determination and iron power in order to continue their rule, but the government, in spite of the assertion that the Shah had absolute absolute political power, it was very weak in relation to foreign powers. In other words, the Qajar monarchy was based on a weak and unified society, and the government created a fragile balance with the policy of "dividing and ruling" (Akhavn Monfared, 1996: 28).

The financial crises and the desperate measures that followed, foreign loans, giving privileges and corruption caused by the sale of government positions all exacerbated political dissatisfaction, eliminated the legitimacy of the Qajar government in the minds of the people, so that since the late Nasser al-Din Shah's reign, reformists in Tehran and some of the cities have formed secret and semi-secret associations. Their interests focused more on the freedom of the people from the yoke of oppression and the benefits of freedom, justice and education. Among them, foreign-language Farsi newspapers (Habal al-Matin, Akhtar and Law) played an important role in bringing public opinion to the game they did. (Akhavn Monfared, 1375: 29-28).

After the murder of Nasir al-Din Shah, the revolutionaries said they needed to make public reforms. They wanted to get rid of organized and formal organized lawlessness and to share power in order to overcome the tyranny, other social and political aspirations, economic progress, social welfare and national credibility, and so the constitutional revolution was formed. The great scholars (Shiites) - who had previously created an emotion against the tobacco rating. This time it was necessary to enforce legal supervision of the authoritarian and absolute power of the rulers. They led the ideological and direct leadership of the constitutional movement and played a significant role in attracting the broad participation of the masses.

The third coup of March 1299, which ultimately led to the emergence of the Pahlavi regime and the decline of the Qajarites, came just when Iran faced the most critical period in its contemporary history. On the other hand, the deviation in the constitutional movement led to the isolation of many scholars, the chaos and the sect of games and differences between the ruling
political factions, the political disparity, and the ineffectiveness and inability of the cabinet of the constitutional government. Between 1300 and 1288 more than five times the Cabinet changed (Foran, 1377: 297).

On the other hand, the rebellion of some tribes and tribes, and failure to pay taxes and defying the obedience of the central government, led to the weakness of the Tehran government. The rise in the price of various commodities and insurrections in the interior, added to the dissatisfaction with the government and the intensification of the political and social turmoil of Iran, including the Kurdish Kurdish conflict with the restoration and declaration of autonomy. Other factors exacerbating the Qajar crisis were a new intellectual class that, under the influence of the new ideas of European, considered the cause of the advancement of European countries to be sometimes constitutional, sometimes aside religion and time in the participation of the people. They rejected the past and questioned the present (Azizi, 2006: 85). Another key factor influencing the critical atmosphere of this period was the role of foreigners and foreign forces. In 1290, the north of Iran was at the hands of Russia and the South. The British collaborated with Sheikh Khazal to control the oil fields altogether. A force was also released in the area of the subject of the contract of 1907. Under these circumstances, Iran declared impartiality during the First World War, but contrary to this impartiality, the scene of the Russian, Ottoman, and British conflicts took place, a devastating impact on the Iranian economy. The United Kingdom took control of oilfields and Russia had full freedom in its area of influence, and according to the treaty it was intended that Russia would annex the northern parts of Iran to its territory and, instead, take direct control of the southern Iranian administration. After the revolution of October 1917, all treaties and privileges of the tsarist government with Iran were canceled, and after that, Russian domination ended on the political economy of Iran, and all of Iran was in the hands of England. Britain took advantage of this opportunity and set up the 1919 colonial contract, Vousouq al-Dawlah, in collaboration with Vousouq al-Dawlah. The colonial position of the treaty was so large and clear that all classes of society were opposed to it.

The cautious cabinet collapsed against these objections on July 3, 1299, and Mirza Hasan Moshir al-Dawlah was appointed cabinet officer. In those critical days, the general political scene of Iran was changing, and British diplomacy wanted to overturn Iran's decades-old rule and take power. The rebels and bandits also rebelled around the country (Amini, 1382: 231).
Moshir al-Dawlah announced in 1919 that until the Russian and British forces leave the country, the contract was suspended, but he was also abandoned at the end of 1299, and the pro-British Sepahdar took her place. Sepahdar also failed to bring the contract to parliament. The British government, with disappointment at the end of 1299 and early 1300, witnessed a critical situation and political repression of Tehran (Foran, 1998: 300). We witnessed a growing state of conflict with internal movements and foreign powers between the First World War and the 1926 coup (1300). In this space, the United Kingdom also sought another means to dominate Iran in order to compensate for its failure to conclude the 1919 agreement, and Reza Khan Mirpiang was their best option for realizing this domination. In this period, a historical symbiosis also emerged between the modernist ideals and British politics. Hence, the sum of these conditions and conditions provided the internal and external context for the reincarnation of Reza Khan (Foran, 1377: 302-296). After World War I, Reza Khan began the repression of the movements. By repressing the movements and controlling the tribes and tribes and defeating Sheikh Khazaal, he returned to Iran a relative calm and came closer to power.

After the success of the coup in cooperation with Seyed Zia and Reza Khan, Seyed Zia had noticed the ambition of Reza Khan and wanted to keep him away from his base (the Kazakhs). For this reason, he was approached by the Ministry of War. This was a result of the action, because Reza Khan was present at even meetings with military uniforms. Reza Khan's reliance on reliance on the army and the armed forces mobilized all the institutions and elites in this direction.

The most influential parties in the Qajar era

Social people

"Social" means "Social Democrats". As the "Social-Democratic Committee of Iran" was linked to the "Social-Democratic" party beyond the Caucasus, the "social community" of Iran was also dependent on the "Social Democrats" of Badkoobe. It was also called "the Iranian branch of the Mujahideen's population". The sect soon began to create branches in various cities of Iran. This branch was called "state branch" and it operated in Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad, Isfahan, Rasht and Tbilisi. It should be noted that the branch of Tbilis is the same social branch of the Iranian population of Badkoobe in Tbilisi. Moreover, the name of the "Mojahedin-e Anzali sect" was not
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

listed in the state branch list of this sect, and the reason was that the Anzali branch was at that time a branch of the Mojahedin of Rasht (Mousavi Nia, 1385: 148-147). The population of the Muslim population in Tabriz should have a different organizational and administrative system different from that of the Armenian Social Democrats in Tabriz.

The same separation between the Armenian-Muslim social-democrats has led some to mistakenly suppose that these social-democratic groups were unaware of each other. (Ajudani, 1385: 187).

Under the influence of the "Bakvy Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party" and, of course, as a result of individual efforts by some members of or close to the committee, Hemat Organization was established in 1283 to carry out propaganda activities among Muslim workers in the Caucasus. In 1284 (1905), two leaders from Hemmat, Nariman Narimanov and Mohammad Amin Rasulzada, founded the Social Democratic Party of Baku among the Iranians of Baku. The social community in the word was social-democratic, and this party was sometimes called Mujahid (Etehadiye, 1381: 134-130). Although there is no precise documentation of the time and manner in which societies exist in Iran and its relationship with the outside world, there are some guesses based on some scattered documents. According to Shakeri, the emergence of "Mujahid" newspapers in the fall of 1286 (1907) in Rasht and Tabriz indicates that the social unit of the public (Mojahed) has been fully active in Iran at this time. The party has expanded more in the northern provinces of Iran, but its center still seems to remain in the Caucasus. It is unclear how the party was developed in Iran, in spite of the fact that its main activists in Iran were those who were active in Russia and brought the sect with them to Iran, it can be inferred that their activities in Iran, they continued to struggle with the Tsarist Russia abroad. In other words, at this stage, one can equate the left thought with the foreign product brought to Iran by the foreigners or the unwanted souvenir that the host did not have any knowledge of it. In other words, the early stages of the struggle of the Social-Democratic Party with the Qajar government can be considered as a struggle against local Russian allies in Iran. (Tajdari and Sarai, 2010: 15).

The official newspaper of the parliament, officially wrote: "The purpose of the formation of this party was to support and strengthen the parliament, they were all patriotic, and as their power and influence grew, their enemies united, formed their own party" (Mohammadi, 1999: 429). Then he adds: "The self-righteous ones, seeing that they blocked the progress of their intentions,
closed the barrier and accused them of all kinds of allegations and hated the profession of moderation, and they differed greatly between the revolution and the moderation of moderation and rejected moderation. If the moderation of the method is all rational. "(Mohammadi, 1999: 429). Socialist programs and programs form part of the primary left-wing discourse in Iran. It was simultaneously preparing a program with the first parliamentary elections. Two drafts of this program have been presented to radical representatives of Azerbaijan in 1285. The most important demands of the program included limiting the powers of the tyrannical king, holding parliamentary elections based on universal suffrage and giving the right to vote to the workers, dividing the large agricultural property among the peasants and transferring democratic rights to the workers, such as the freedom of association and the right to strike.

After some time, due to the lack of coherence in the Socialist Party, it was found that the secessionist extremism was found and accepted a bunch of leadership of the clergy, and a bunch of liberties was announced and approached the Democratic Party. There was also disagreement within the Democratic Party. The Equatorial Party, which held the majority of the second Majority, lost the majority in the Third Majority, and in the Third House of Democrats, they had a majority, and in the fourth parliament of 1235 AH. (1296 AD), the party of moderation was virtually disintegrated with the fact that it was split in the Democratic Party, and that the party was divided into two branches and antitrust, each of the 12 lawyers of Tehran in total Democrats. And the Socialist Party (Social), formed from the coalition of the remnants of the Democrats and the Eldalians; a minority of the parliament and the reformist party, in which some former Democrats and moderates and people outside the two parties met, held the majority of the assembly (Modir Shane-chi, p. 52). The political parties that lacked the experience of party activities, and even disagreements even within the party, succeeded in conquering power under the name of the Independent Democratic Fraternity (Modernization) and corroborating it in 1204 . (Torabi, 1381: 86-85).

**Democratic Party**

A new chapter in the history of the Constitutional Movement was opened by bombing the first parliament (23rd of Jommadi, 1326). The first constitutional monarch (1324-1326 AD) failed after two years. The constitutional opposition, including the various currents and spectra, became overpowering, and, with all its power, trampled the liberators; some of them were killed and
exiled, and many escaped from Tehran, to Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, Istanbul, and Europe They struggled with stubbornness and tyranny with all their might. These struggles ended in the thirteen-month period of despotism that became known as the Minor Autarchy. Conquering Tehran (27 Jimaldi al-Thani in 1327) once again conquered the autocracy, and the second parliament was formed, and for the first time political parties were formed in the second Constitutional Revolution. The Democratic Party was the most important party organized during this period. This party was the main symbol of the radical (revolutionary) flow. (Salehi, 1385: 110-109). In fact, the first party that officially began to function in the second parliament was the Democratic Party of Iran, and this party tried to create branches in other areas. (Hajian Pour and Monfared, 1391: 4). The majority of the party members were dependent on the new classes. The clerics of the party did not have much influence, clerics such as Dehkharkhaghani, Khaybani and Sadr al-Islam were due to the party's insistence on not recognizing the privileges and the dissolution of the Mauluk-al-Tuvaifi, and the emphasis on liberation and the rule of law in the positions and controversies supporting the Democratic Party. But they were not satisfied with the letter of the party. Their opposition to the letter of the party by Sheikh Mohammad Khaybani and Sadr al-'Alma was expressed at the 23rd session of January 12, 1329, in the second parliament, and they emphasized the divinity as the basis of the law. (Ghaffari and Mohammadzadeh, 2011: 119-118). Suleiman Mirza Eskandari, who, after leaving Tabizadeh from the second parliament, led the Democratic Party in Parliament, writes in a letter to Taghizadeh, in opposition to the privilege: "Democrats will not be left alone by anyone who remains influential in Iran" (Afshar, 1385: 315). The newspaper "Iran Neo", the Democratic Party organization, wrote in his article No. 31 entitled "Democratic Speaking." The Democrat is the opposite of the word Aristocracy (the nobility's rule) ... The word Democrat is the name of someone who is for the health and comfort of the poor, the rancor, the savage The miserly who is said to be public and congregation is willing to sacrifice everything. Therefore, almost the majority of prominent Democrats and leaders owe their social status and political dignity, traditional institutions such as family, tribe, affiliation with the king and the kingdom, land and the requirements of the ideology. But also the familiarization and enjoyment of new science education, employment in journalism and work in new government agencies, especially the State Department and embassies, scientific and political interaction with prominent personalities and intellectuals in European and Ottoman countries, domination of European languages and The study and translation of new books and cultural
productions of Western civilization, along with their individual and personal potentials, distinguished them from the traditional and hereditary classes. In general, the nature and social status of the majority of them was non-assignable and emerged in the process of political constitutional changes. (Ghaffari and Mohammadzadeh, 2011: 119).

**Communist Party of Iran**
After the Soviet-era Russian Revolution, the Communist Party of Iran was formed for the first time in the Sabunchi Badkoba neighborhood (Baku) in May 1296 (1917), called the Justice Party, and Asadollah Ghaffarzadeh was appointed head of the party. Its members were mostly Iranian workers who spoke in Azerbaijani language and worked in the Balkh oil industry. For a short time, nearly six thousand people were accepted into it. This party published the "Birjq Justice" newspaper, which reflected its ideas. In the first two or three years, the Justice Party sent a number of people to Tabriz, Rasht, Mazandaran, Khorasan and Tehran, apparently claiming to escape from the fears of the Bolsheviks and return to their homeland, but in the interior they ordered that in the cities it will set up local committees and begin party activities. When the Red Army seized the Anzali port and raided Gilan, the center of the party was transferred from Badkoba to Bandar Anzali, and after the formation of the government of the Revolutionary Soviet Republic in Gilan, it became public and expanded. (Mousavi Ebadi, 1378: 448-447). On August 29, 1299 (June 22-24, 1920), the first congress of the Communist Party of Iran was concluded in Bandar Anzali (Pahlavi) to make decisions about the party's future plans and the development of its organization. Most of the delegates attending the congress were Iranians living in the Caucasus and Turkestan, few of them familiar with Persian. (Mousavi Ebadi, 1378: 448).

**Progress Party**
The third official post-Constitutional Revolutionary Party is the "Incident and Progress" party. This party was established in the middle of the work of the second parliament at zero in 1329 AH. The party of progress, although it did not have many members, was of relative importance due to its membership in the Mutilah delegation and the coalition with the Social-Democratic Party, the Etitedian, which was later to take place. In the Independent newspaper of Iran, which was the main organ of this party, it came to the fore in the year 1328 about the establishment of this party: five months before Tehran was conquered, a congress in Tehran was formed by the
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608, ISSN 1390-9304

Holy Assembly (Sattar) and As the number of secret societies in the first constituency caused many problems, it was decided to commit all the secret organizations, and each had a representative in the central committee. One of the most well-known committees was the Jahangir Committee, which was formed in Tehran. After the conquest of Tehran, the branches of the party, in the provinces, were successively established. The head of the party was outside the parliament (Mekta'an al-Molk), who was director of the Independent Iran's Shawal newspaper in 1328 AH. (Mousavi Niya, 1388: 43). The party had a coalition of four lawyers, but none of them was a major lawyer. These people included Ismail Khan Farzaneh, Mirza Ali Isfahani (a selector of Qazvin), Fathollah Khan Moshir and Mirza Muhammad Khan Wazirzadeh (elected Gilan). The Codex of the Progressive Party was influenced by socialist ideas that were also seen in the Democratic Party. Like the Democratic Party, the party was opposed to the establishment of the Senate, and did not have a positive view of the landlords. Finally, he rejected the Democrats' coalition proposal and encouraged Nasser al-Mulk and opposed the Democrats with a coalition equation. The Codebook, published by the title (Announcement), has four seasons, each chapter having its own separate content explaining the chapter. (Mousavi Niya, 1388: 45-43).

The role of parties in the transition process from Qajar to Pahlavi

The role of the Fourth House and its parties in the process of building power of Reza Khan

With the formation of the Fourth Parliament (1301-1300), Qawam al-Saltanah's Cabinet took over the government under the command of Sardar Sepah on the side of the Ministry of War. In the fourth parliament, the remaining lawyers of the Democratic Party and the Equidali Party, and a group of young politicians such as Timur, Firooz, and later also the late Hassan Modarres, entered the parliament. A new party of Democrats and former modern comrades was also established in Tehran, and modern youth joined them, and this party almost replaced the old Democratic Party. The Socialist Party was inclined to Russia's politics and communist politics. The majority did not have a clear ideology and authority, and sometimes they collided. In the fourth parliament, separation from parties and the adoption of non-partisan measures emerged among the distinguished members. Democrats who were not members of the Socialist Party and those who met as representatives of the Fourth Parliament in Tehran and viewed foreign and affiliated politics in the Russian or British parliaments were prudent, and the predominantly political leaders and many writers and democrats and moderates The old ones, among them,
created the fraction of the majority of the Parliament (reformists). This majority, because it was not based on the profession, sometimes collapsed; the minority was compromising with another, and, using dissidents, threw the government. But the majority of the people also recruited former West-West comrades, and robbed of minority members and took the government to work. During this period, the majority of liberators did not pay attention to the Socialist Party, the most active party in the Fourth Parliament, because it was not based on the profession, sometimes collapsed; the minority was compromising with another, and, using dissidents, threw the government. But the majority of the people also recruited former West-West comrades, and robbed of minority members and took the government to work. During this period, the majority of the Parliament and the majority of the people were inclined to members who were ready for reform and were tired of moving movements and appearances (Aminzadeh, 2008: 28-27), and they did not even deserve to create another party in return for it. The majority of the Parliament and the majority of the people were inclined to members who were ready for reform and were tired of moving movements and appearances (Aminzadeh, 2008: 28-27).

In this period, gradually the clergy of the revolutionary politician, Seyed Hassan Modares, found a very prominent position among the reformist faction and played an effective role in the management of affairs and control of the crises within the parliament. During this parliamentary period, the press did not attack the foreigners, but brought the conflict to the internal front. On the one hand, criticizing and protesting the press and the sit-in of jireed executives in Parliament is at King Abdul Aziz and the Soviet embassy; on the other hand, threatening, pinning, seizing, beating, trampling, breaking the teeth of jireed managers Is. Following the coup of Reza Khan, the unhappiness of the parliament, the government and the press from the minister of war was sharply exacerbated, but with the tricks of Reza Khan, this did not have any effect; on the contrary, the military officials were threatening and the minister of war to attack the parliament and close They were cheering on it and closing jirees. (Zaker Hussein, 2005: 65-64). Although in the fourth parliament the chaos and chaos of the parties were ahead of it, the conflicts were more intense than before, and the dispersion of forces and the weakening of the parties intensified the conflict between them. Meanwhile, there were two important events that arose
from significant changes in the structure of party activities in Iran: first, the prominent members of the Majles conveyed partisan activity and relied on a shaky organization to govern the majority of the Majles; That a prestigious cleric took on a constructive and effective role and became the most famous character of the parliament during that period. The teacher played a key role in managing the intellectual flow of the parliament without having a party and organization, and as long as he was in parliament, he and other influential personalities were not a party, but a fractured parliamentary fraction And outside of the assembly, this collection was not more serious than a political party composed of reputable personalities. Maybe if the teacher and his prominent personalities were more committed to creating a strong political institution, and the assembly of reformists who were associated with him would become an effective and firm body of authority, history would be different, but This was not the case, and the instructor could not have done this or did not want to do it.

However, the power of the wise group of members of the fourth constitutional assembly was not institutionalized, and parties and small and large, continued to issue their own creation, and this led to a rapid change in the political conditions of the country. Reza Khan, the minister of war, was gaining strength and the armed forces under his control as the strongest organization in the country gained more control over the country.

The fourth parliament of the National Assembly, which played a significant role in the gradual development of the power of Reza Khan and the provision of conditions for its authoritative presence, after the opening of Ahmad Shah Qajar on July 1, 1300/1921, was divided into several factions in terms of political orientations Was. The two factions that had the most impact on the issues were socialists and moderates. The group that called Democrats in their third parliament now gathered around the name of Socialists, and was roughly 29 people, led by Solomon Mirza Eskandari and Mohammad Sadeq Tabatabai calling for a strong central government (Ghani, 1999: 252-251).

The other major faction, which reached nearly 32, was the heir to the former Eldal Party, who, for their own sake, was more elusive and more inclined towards the dispersion of power than the political focus that Reza Khan and his fellow socialists sought. Leadership of this party was prominent clerics such as lecturers, wealthy merchants and landowners. Landowner
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14. No. 2. 2018, 581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

Conservatives were able to win the majority of the fourth legislature, due to the change in the electoral law in the Third Major (which, by granting all men, including villagers, the right to vote unwittingly led to the work of veterans and proprietors of landowners) Spring, 1371: 306). The emergence of reformist parties (former modern) and social (formerly Democrats) in the fourth National Assembly of the National Assembly did not have a normal aspect, and each of them depended on external and internal factors and specific motivations. The two parties did not create a constitutional revolution, but one was created by passivity against the events of those days and one under the influence of the 1917 Russian Revolution (spring, 1992: 132).

In the fourth parliament of the National Assembly, representatives of the reformist government of Reza Khan had different thoughts and attitudes: some such as Suleiman Mirza and Sardar Moazem (Timur Tash) of the members of the minority parliamentary group due to the successes and actions of Reza Khan in securing the country. His plans and bills, such as the dispatch of 60 pupils to France for military training and additional funding to the Ministry of War, could in any way provide special protection (detailed minutes of the National Assembly, fourth session: session 97). Against the minority group of the Parliament who, on every pretext, were serving Reza Khan and demanding a strong central government, some of the delegates, who formed the majority of the fourth congress of the National Assembly, stood against Reza Khan's power-hungry actions and in any way wanted to see him as the head of al-Zuraa Qawam al-Saltanah, in his second cabinet, he set up the legislative bill on the trial of ministers in 131 articles and submitted to the assembly on November 7, 1301 (pearl, 1377: 1/365), through this law and with the help of their supportive representatives, such as the lecturer, who had a lot of influence, they prevented Reza Khan's growing power, but this Like many of the other measures failed. It should be noted that even representatives of the majority of the 4th National Assembly, such as Tabriz and Modarres, did not demand the removal of the second cabinet from Qavam due to Ahmadinejad's arrogance and interference by Reza Khan in the field of finance (Hedayat, 1343: 352). Meanwhile, Reza Khan, who lost support for the parliament, used a special trick to resign.

Immediately after hearing about the resignation of Reza Khan, military officials from Gilan, Anzali, Lorestan, Qazvin and other parts of Iran sent telegrams to Tehran and demanded that their resignation would not be accepted by the Majles (Spring, 1992: 239). Reza Khan, considering that the army was behind him, the majority of the parliament was short against him.

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The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

For the first time, Reza Khan served as the Minister of War to the Fourth Majles and promised delegates to cooperate with the constitution and not to interfere in the Ministry of Finance. As a result, MPs agreed to stay with him as the Ministry of War (Hedayat, 1343: 352). After this, he realized that the role and importance of the parliament was to make the legislators lure and threaten the judges and Timur himself, who had his thoughts, encouraged him to form his own party and assumed the fifth parliament (Melnikov, 1358: 58). Reza Khan, who watched the government and parliament and the challenges between them wisely, with tactical resignations, realized that the deputies had the ability to reach them for lack of persistent and loose elemental thinking. Its purpose is to make the most of its use and in the sense of abuse. With the return of Reza Khan and the acquisition of new supporters in parliament, the second cabinet of Qawam al-Saltanah collapsed. Following this, in February 1301, the Mostofi al-Mamalek cabinet was introduced to the parliament, whose election by some of the delegates was one of the mistakes that ultimately resulted in the dismissal of Ahmad Shah (Khaje Noori, 1367: 43).

How to support the modernist party in the fourth National Assembly from the reign of Reza Shah

In line with the coup 1299, the government of Seyyed Zia- al-Din Tabataba'i was in the process of exile and imprisonment of political activists and enlighteners, but after the fall of the Seyyed Ziya cabinet, the deteriorating circumstances of his time improved a little. In the 23rd month of Ramadan, the door of the jails was opened and the freedmen made speeches in the square of Baharestan. "First, Seyed Mohammad Tedin urged and said that gentlemen, all these injuries were a result of your actions for many months. And nobody has any fault. I then have to behave in such a way that such adventures do not occur. "It was clear that the politicians were dissatisfied with the disadvantages of the community and were considering changing the procedure. They saw their goal of reforming society as the first step in forming a powerful and powerful central government. The fourth parliament was formed in 1300 AD, consisting of three constituencies headed by Qawam al-Saltanah. There were two parties in this House: a socialist whose members were inclined towards Russian communist politics, and the second was a group of political activists, including former democrats and moderates, who were reputed to reformists. The party, which had a foreign relationship with Britain and Russia was cautious when it formed...
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

The majority of the parliament and had a great influence in the space of society (Alam and Pour Mokhtari, 1394: 99-98).

The first step by the Fourth Major was the 1919 agreement with the United Kingdom, which was announced as a statement in Parliament. Among the people who signed the declaration should be Abdul Hussein Timurtash, Qawam al-Dawlah, Sayyid Muhammad Tedin, Malek al Shoara Bahar, and Fermat and his son Firoz (Ghani, 2006: 259). With this in mind, the policy of the party of modernity can be understood from the activities of its members in the fourth legislature. The role of the members of the modernist party within the parliament is also noteworthy. Timurthas, along with the moderator, was the first two spokespersons of the moderate or reformist party, and Firuz and Tedin were acting as a representative body that could affect the various factions of the parliament (Ghani, 2006: 250). Timur Tash, in line with the government reform program, has tried to make the courts and administrative units affected by their reforms. Although his attempt failed due to the unfavorable conditions of the community, he dismissed about ninety incompetent judges (Ghani, 2006: 271-272).

Ali Akbar Davar was appointed Minister of Education in the Qawam cabinet. He established the "Free Man" newspaper in 1300. From 1301 to 1302, he put his newspaper column to express his own beliefs (Ghani, 2006: 313-314). His main views were on improving the economic level of society. He also believed that when reforms would take place, the central government would run the country. For this reason, with the knowledge he had gained from Reza Khan, he tried to reach him for achieving his goals. In the year 1302, in the free man newspaper publishing articles that he was a leader who would be able to bring Iranians to his goals and wishes, he created a positive thinking about the capabilities of Reza Khan and asked him to appoint a presidential advocate (Rich, 1385: 314).

By exercising influence and authority of Reza Khan and the military under his authority in electing the electorate, in most provinces, most of the elected lawyers of the fifth legislature were pro-presidential governors. "The head of al-Zurah-e-Gadrih selected a number of lawyers for her own will and expected and wished to help him in regime change after the opening of the parliament .... The choice of these lawyers was a wish to follow the military rule". Spring also emphasizes that "the influence of the Amir of the Lashkunts made the elections corrupt" (Bahar,
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

1362: 2/27). The fifth parliamentary parties and groups represent the following government:
"The first monarchy formed by the famous liberators, the second clerical or faculty chair, headed by Seyyed Hassan Modares, and the third Socialist group in the minority. Fourth Majority or Revolutionary Majority, which Seyyed Mohammad Tadayin was their leader "(Alam and Pour Mokhtari, 1394: 100).

The modern-day party, initially called Independent Democrats, was formed by some active politicians at the end of the summer of 1302, which was well-funded by Reza Khan. Reza Khan's goals in achieving power were central to Had a great deal. The revolutions believed that they could make their desired changes under the name of reform with the help of a powerful person like Reza Khan. Also, due to the moderation of modernist ideals and modernizing reforms, they chose "modernity" for themselves (Abrahamian, 1999: 152-151). The modernity party had won the majority of 40 people in the fifth parliament under the leadership of Seyyed Mohammed Tadayin, and had a significant majority in the parliament with a coalition with the Socialist Party of 15, led by Solomon Mirza and Mohammad Sadegh Tabatabai. Those with ambitious thoughts Reza Shah agreed to accompany him to the highest political and executive positions of the country, because they saw their goals in the powerful faction group like Reza Khan.

The role of the fifth assembly in Reza Khan's power

By issuing a decree on the election of the fifth parliament, the Parliament and military forces in all regions have publicly intervened in the elections and played a major role in electoral manipulation for the benefit of Reza Khan's candidates. In Tehran, a special committee headed by Khodayar Khan was the commander of the army and one of the assistants near Reza Khan. He also led the newly established Independent Democratic Party, which would have to control the elections in the states (Melnikov, 1358: 66). As a result, with the massive involvement of militaries in the parliamentary elections of the fifth National Assembly, the political composition of the parliament changed in favor of Reza Khan. During this period, 66 percent of the deputies first entered the parliament, with half of the representatives of this period young and civil servants (Morvarid, 1998: 1-42-401), and almost all of them were with Reza Khan, and through military forces And political under his authority went to the parliament. Thus, the traditional and pro-monarchy forces could not take the majority of the parliament, so the reform process of Reza Khan accelerated with these institutions.
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14 . No. 2. 2018,581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

The fifth parliament of the National Assembly, which was at the time of President of Reza Khan, was held on February 13, 1302. In the absence of Ahmad Shah, Qajar was formed from several factions: Tedin, as one of the leaders of the parliamentary faction, was the head of a faction called the Modernity Party, which had 35 to 40 representatives. The socialists who supported Reza Khan and his republican program also had 12 to 13 delegates. 10 to 15 delegates who were not members of the faction were also in favor of Reza Khan, but 10 to 12 independent representatives, along with moderators of the minority parliamentary group leader with 12 to 13, were in the strong opposition to Reza Khan in the fifth parliament (Ghani, 1999: 332).

It should be noted that at the time of Reza Khan's first cabinet, the most important issue that prompted political parties and parliamentarians during the fifth parliamentary term was the issue of "republicanism". Reza Khan since the 1299 coup. It was seeking republicanism. Among the factors that made it possible, after several years of coup, to observe the situation and consider the opportunity to declare the republic and take full advantage of power, was that the announcement of the Republic would lead to further risks and irregularities in Country (Gh., 1378: 328).

In the fifth parliamentary elections, reformists and Democrats voted in favor of Reza Khan and their other opponents, especially in Tehran. But with the intervention of the military under the covert leadership of Reza Khan in other cities of Iran, the elections were taken by the Ministry of War, and the influence and involvement of the emir of the Lashkhrs ruined the elections. Representatives of the Iranian states formed the Fifth Party of the Modernist Party, and this party won the majority of the assembly. But the power of Reza Khan was not limited to this party. The organization of the forces inside and outside the parliament, including the armed forces under his command, had made him powerful enough for a rival who lacked a strong organization and organization. The fifth parliament was the culmination of the political campaign of Reza Khan and Modares. Despite the fact that he held a minority faction in the parliament, the late teacher continued his struggle with Reza Khan. In this parliament, there was no capacity for minority parties in the last few years. In the fifth parliament, the intention of Reza Khan was obviously to exhaust the Qajar dynasty, and the late teacher, too, without credit for the Qajar king, was worried about the dictatorship of Reza Khan, and so he fought in any way possible with this effort. . Sardar Sepah announced before the beginning of the last year of the last night of March of 1302 (March 21, 1924) that he would like to be elected President of Iran. This announcement
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14. No. 2. 2018, 581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

and action by Reza Khan did not result in the ceremony of the ceremonies of the Qajar crown prince Hi Nawroz (arranger, 1993: 507). Ayatollah Modres strongly rebelled against this request of Reza Khan and ultimately prevented the regime from changing the royal system. Perhaps if an organization and a coherent organization were instructed by the teacher for the full consideration of this phenomenon, all the conditions were properly considered and applied in another way, with the suggestion of Reza Khan. Reza Khan was negotiated with the help of his allies Timurtash and Firooz Mirza with the leader of the minority parliamentary group, the Modaress, in order to not win the title of the commander-in-chief with the opposition of the powerful minority and minority parliaments. And as the lecturer, Sheikh Khazal, was the only one to deal with Reza Khan was forced to accompany him in order to buy the time to regain power and obtain the conditions necessary to confront Reza Khan in the statement of the commander-in-chief, provided that Nosrat al-Dawlah and Qawam al-Dawlah were members of his fourth cabinet (Behnoud, 1369: 75-74).

With the approval of the bill titled "Commander-in-Chief" in Reza Khan and with the emphasis of the majority of the members of the Fifth National Assembly, the Qajar era was actually declared. After this, the Habal Al-Matain newspaper predicted that Reza Khan, taking into account the many years of history behind all the laws of the country, would disrupt the Qajar dynasty by breaking the political rules, and after exactly eight months The saying turned out to be reality. Reza Khan, after gaining the title of "Commander-in-Charge", has sought to undermine the Qajar government's many plans, such as the compulsory duty-system bill, the abolition of the law of military rule and the law on the reform of the calendar and the monopoly regime for sugar and sugar, with the help of a very important institution. An influential member of the National Assembly approved. He asked the conservative Ahmad Shah, who had always abandoned the banal excuses, at the last step after he had succeeded in defeating his military, political and financial power by placing a trap. Return to the country. Finally, Ahmad Shah, unaware of the behind-the-scenes issues and despite the reluctance to return, announced in a telegram the decision to return to the country, and Reza Khan apparently expressed his satisfaction, but placed him under a "bread crisis" situation that could not Iran returns to take advantage of the refusal of the king to return to the kingdom of the state, then to overthrow the Qajar rule (Ja'fari et al., 1395: 54-53).
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Along with the announcement of the return of Ahmad Shah Qajar, due to the lack of bread (state grain storage in the hands of Reza Khan), in Tehran, riots with a plan and counting against the Qajar, which was considered the main culprit Ahmad Shah Qajar. Following the incident in Tabriz, Rasht, Mashhad, Isfahan, Kerman and elsewhere, numerous attempts were made by military officials to organize demonstrations against the Shah, and they sent telegrams from across the country to the Parliament calling for the removal of Ahmad Shah Qajar. During the rage of the change of the Qajar monarchy by Reza Khan, the majority of parliamentarians did not become unemployed as an institution that legitimized his actions, and provided the grounds for Qajar extinction. Ali Akbar Davar and Timurtash convinced them to approve the Qajar Extinction Bill by signing their signatures. Also, the head of the party of the modernity party of the hardline supporters of Reza Khan, in the absence and with the resignation of Mu'tamman al-Molk, who did not want to end the stigma of the fall of the Qajar in his name, became vice-chairman of the first parliament of the fifth parliament of the parliament and tried to make this plan The minority and minority groups in the parliament, too, did not have the power to make a misleading republic equivalent to the change of monarchy. On the eve of the change of monarchy, there was a gap in the relatively united quartet of minority groups. Some of them, because of frustration and frustration, separated themselves from the teacher and gathered in a small fraction called "the incident." As a result, the minority obviously lost the power of previous organization. Thus, the Parliament proclaimed the Supreme Council of the Qajar Era with the majority of the votes, called "the prosperity of the nation", by accepting the change of principles 36, 37, 38, 40 of the constitution. (Jafari and others, 1395: 55-54).

The Qajar era was an important period in Iran's history, during which time there were very important events and events in Iran that had no history before. Firstly, Iran was first dominated by colonizers, especially Britain and Russia, and secondly, during the half-time of the rule of the Qajar kings, for the first time formed parliaments and parties, but for various reasons they could not properly fulfill their mission of controlling the kings and tyranny in Iran, and Iran still faced a crisis of democracy and lack of law. With the intervention of foreigners and the outbreak of World War I, Iran faced a fragmentation and a few tears. At this critical juncture, Ahmad Shah Qajar, as the last Qajar king, according to his weak personality, was able to cope with and solve
The role of political parties in transferring power from Qajar to Pahlavi

Revista Publicando, 5 No 14. No. 2. 2018, 581-608. ISSN 1390-9304

internal and external problems through There were no institutions like the army and the parliament.

It was only at this time that Reza Khan emerged that, on the contrary, the last Qajar king had a lot of courage and use all the means to reach power. Reza Khan has benefited from such hardships as the ineffectiveness of parliaments and cabinets, the First World War and the involvement of foreign agents, which caused troubles and accidents in Iran. He traveled with a positive and rational, uninterrupted and full-fledged route from 1299. Up to 1304 Using the creation of institutions to gain power. Reza Khan after the 1299 coup. He was able to use institutions that had little to this day to gain power and, using the institution of army, who had no acceptable performance before him due to lack of proper structure, was able to work with the parliament and with the support The intellectual currents completely dominated the political system. So although the source of Reza Khan's power was essentially a military institution, but through a targeted coalition with different groups inside and outside the fourth and fifth congress of the National Assembly, in order to legitimize its actions and plans, the Qajar regime could be exorcised and subjugated.

In general, the activities of the parties from the second parliament (1288 AH) to the fifth parliament (1304 AD) indicate that it is important for the political parties of Iran, in the first period of their activities, to not play the same role as the parties in the European countries They would play. From the beginning of the work of the parties in Iran, the continuing imbalance between the political and cultural structure of society and the required political political structure has been one of the reasons for the lack of growth of the parties. Although we were apparently faced with the establishment of parties in the community, this deployment lacked the political-cultural structure required by the parties, and in fact, instead of a democratic structure, we had an authoritarian political structure. The political-cultural structure based on authoritarianism is contrasted with the growth of political parties and the structure of political-cultural authoritarianism in the hands of the rulers makes the rulers do not tolerate any competitor. (Salemi Qamsari, 2007: 53).

Conclusion
The formation of political parties in Iran was of particular importance, because in the first place,
this was a new occurrence in the National Policy Foundation. The developments that took place in the politics of the parties on Iran were very important because they were first created by such political institutions. One of these developments was the change of monarchy from Qajar to Pahlavi, which came from many factors and one of these internal factors was the role of the parties. In general, it should be said that a large number of political activists, who formed a significant number, were inadequate from the ineffectiveness of the constitutional system and the National Assembly. They sought to demand a political demand that could, in the light of their modernized reforms, pursue their own goals of society. So, someone like Reza Khan was right for the flag. Reza Khan, who at that time, by his actions, managed to create relative security in the society in the turbulent society of the society and the real lack of a politically influential political regime that the Qajars undertook, and kidnapped others. After the third coup d'état of March 1299, he proved his role as a political activist more than ever, in his fifth parliament, he established his position by the party of modernity. The various parties, which had been assisted by the majority of parliament with the support of Reza Khan. The dams leading to Reza Khan have been dropped one by one. Initially, they provided a forum for the formation of a Republican movement to change regime in favor of Reza Khan, with its internal measures in parliament and its active members abroad. Following the failure of the Panevizdom and Reza Khan to head the post of power as a half of the monarchy played a large role. After that, he used his full power and approved the dissolution of the Qajar government by the Majles and, with the efforts of the presidency and active members, reigned Reza Shahi's monarchy. At all these stages, the claims related to this party reflected all the party's goals and plans and published its modernist measures.

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